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ABSTRACT

The Portuguese press is now guaranteed free access to official sources of information, professional confidentiality, freedom of publication and of competition, and the independence of the professional journalist; yet its ability to influence public opinion is limited by a traditional expectation of governmental repression and by present financial difficulties. The government's control of five daily newspapers representing almost 50% of the daily press's total circulation, the disproportionate strengthening of state-owned newspapers by government grants based on circulation, and the politicization of most newspapers through government appointment of many newspaper directors are a few of the factors restricting newspapers' political independence. A readership limited to urban, educated citizens and the financial weakness of most newspapers--caused by low circulation, excessive competition, heavy printing costs, and inflation--are some of the sources of the newspapers' financial problems. The Portuguese press must continue to work toward political and economic independence in order to perform its duty of informing public opinion. (MM)

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THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PORTUGUESE PRESS: NEW FACES, OLD PROBLEMS

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THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PORTUGUESE PRESS: NEW FACES, OLD PROBLEMS

Portuguese newspapers represent an anomaly. On the one hand, strong political, economic and cultural factors, the latter including an ideological coloring of much of the news, keep the press apart from the Western European and Anglo-American traditions of a free, independent press. On the other hand, constitutional guarantees of the free flow of information, coupled with an ethics code and statute and a broadly decentralized system of controls, insures that the press can be an important force in strengthening Portugal's young democratic regime.

On April 25, 1974, young military captains toppled the decayed, 48-year-old Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in a matter of hours. People danced in the streets and red carnations were placed in the muzzles of guns in the near-bloodless revolution that journalists throughout the world would christen "the Flower Revolution." Basic liberties were restored and newspapers that day, and since, have not gone to the censors.

What followed may have vexed many and satisfied few, but the mass media, in all their expressions, were at the center of the ensuing power struggle that successively has placed the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, a center-right coalition and, in 1983, a center-left coalition into the seats of government.

Sweeping changes transformed the face of the press. An analysis of Portuguese newspapers today, based upon the coauthors' personal observations; interviews with newspaper editors, reporters and other media figures; and a search into the meager scholarly and journalistic documentation reveals the following key characteristics:[1]

1. Government control of five daily newspapers representing almost 50 percent of the reported total circulation of the daily press.[2]

2. Government grants to all newspapers, both private and state-affiliated, of an equal amount based on circulation, thus disproportionately strengthening the state-owned newspapers already financed by the government.[3]

3. The emergence since 1975 of three influential, privately owned Lisbon weeklies, Expresso, O Jornal and Tempo, that fill a gap created by the absence of news magazines in Portugal.

4. Financial weakness of most newspapers caused by low circulation, excessive competition, heavy printing costs and inflation.

5. Slowness in introducing modern technology, such as computerized typesetting systems, because of poor revenue and labor union resistance.[4]

6. A readership limited to urban, educated and middle- to upper-class citizens, caused by illiteracy in rural areas and the legacy of decades of cultural deprivation of the people under the Salazar-Caetano regimes.

7. Despite low readership, the widespread perception that the news media play an influential role in forming political and economic policies.

8. The politicization of most newspapers through government appointment of many newspaper directors or political party support.

9. A long tradition of editorializing in the news columns, in which the press has been a prime weapon in political combat, as seen throughout the Nineteenth Century, during the First Republic (1910-1926) and, most recently, after the 1974 revolution.

10. Notable communist and socialist orientation of journalists motivated by the general cultural climate stemming from the revolution and the entry of many new journalists and governmentally appointed media managers (especially in 1975, when the Communist Party held significant influence in government), as well as protective labor laws making it difficult to dismiss an employee.

11. The small supply of trained journalists caused by the near-absence of journalism education programs.

12. A long tradition of low salaries and equally low social prestige of professionals, compounded by decades of arbitrary government.

13. The widespread belief of the political left that state control of the press is preferable to a purely capitalist system.[5]

14. Theoretically, decentralized control of newspaper operations through a) a constitutionally authorized system including a national Press Council (Conselho de Imprensa), b) individual boards of directors governing the operations of each of the news media, c) a journalist-elected Editorial Council (Conselho de Redacção) in each news medium, playing an advisory role in the appointment of editor-directors and with a voice in monitoring press freedom and pluralism and d) a Ministry of Mass Communication (Comunicacão Social) providing governmental oversight.[6] (Such a system may be regarded as only theoretically decentralized because, in fact, the government directly appoints the supervisory boards of state-owned newspapers and exerts undue economic influence over all the papers.)

15. Specific constitutional guarantees of free access to official sources of information, professional confidentiality, freedom of publication, competition and the independence of the professional journalist.[7]

16. Constitutional limitations to press freedom designed only to protect a) individual citizens through a "right of rebuttal" and b) "organs of the State" through punishment for unlawful attack on democratic institutions susceptible of jeopardizing democratic order, as well as for slander or threats against public officials.[8]

17. A deontological code approved by the Journalists Union in 1976 requiring that journalists, among other actions, shall maintain the confidentiality of journalistic sources of information, fight against any internal

or external forms of censorship, distinguish between news and commentary, correct published errors rapidly, defend the journalist's right that signed articles be published only with the author's consent, maintain public confidence in the integrity and dignity of the journalistic profession, and contribute to the formation of a civic conscience and the development of the critical capacity of the Portuguese people.[9]

18. A degree of enforcement of this code of ethics by the 1,500-member Journalists Union through its legal power of accreditation, the issuance of professional identity cards and the authority to reprimand journalists for violations.[10]

Listed in Table A are 22 leading Portuguese newspapers. They consist of nine dailies published in Lisbon and four in Oporto, as well as the three most influential weekly newspapers, five other weeklies and one Sunday newspaper. Even though Portugal is small (about the size of the state of South Carolina), transportation difficulties make newspaper distribution--especially to rural areas--difficult, and none is considered a truly national newspaper. Oporto's Jornal de Notícias and Lisbon's Diário de Notícias enjoy the largest circulations.

Table B lists 1) the leading newspapers that are the official voices of political parties and 2) five sports tri-weeklies, one (A Bola) with the largest circulation of any newspaper.

Table A also reveals the wide range of political orientation as well as the fact that undoubtedly too many papers compete for too small an available readership. (The Lisbon metropolitan area has a population of approximately one million and the Oporto metropolitan area about one-half million.)

Table A

PORTUGAL'S LEADING NEWSPAPERS*

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation	Circulation
Expresso	Lisbon	Saturday	Private	Most prestigious weekly. Social-democratic editorial policy. Read by "opinion makers."	77,000
O Jornal	Lisbon	Friday	Private	Journalist-owned weekly. Independent socialist line.	82,000
O Tempo	Lisbon	Thursday	Private	Center-right weekly. Highly controversial.	65,300**
Jornal de Notícias	Oporto	A.M., daily	State-intervened (state controlled)	Nation's largest-circulation daily. Independent approach. Moderate socialist orientation.	81.000
Diário de Notícias	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Public	Leading Lisbon daily. Independent approach. Moderate orientation.	58,000
Correio de Manha	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Less political news, but general right-center line.	40,000
O Diário	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Semi-official Communist Party orientation.	43,000
O Dia	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Arch-conservative.	47,000
O Comercio do Porto	Oporto	A.M., daily	State-intervened (controversy over control)	Conservative orientation	51,000
O Primeiro de Janeiro	Oporto	A.M., daily	Private	Conservative orientation.	40,000
A Capital	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Public	Center. Editor a strong personality.	40,000

Table A

PORTUGAL'S LEADING NEWSPAPERS (CONTINUED)

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation	Circulation
Diário Popular	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Public	Moderate socialist editorial direction, with strong leftist staff influence.	53,000
Diário de Lisboa	Lisbon	P.M., daily	State-intervened (privately controlled)	Staff divided between independent left and pro-Communist groups.	43,000
O Globo	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Private	Owned by Nuno Rocha group. Center-right.	20,000
A Tarde	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Private	Center-right. Heavy on political analysis.	25,000
Notícias da Tarde	Oporto	P.M., daily	State-intervened (state-controlled)	Jornal de Noticias afternoon paper started in 1982.	10,000
O Diabo	Oporto-Lisbon	Tuesday	Private	Rightist; anti-communist. Leading conservative political commentator on staff.	50,000
Sete	Lisbon	Wednesday	Private	Emphasis on cultural events. Published by O Jornal.	80,000
Tal & Qual	Lisbon	Saturday	Private	Tabloid. Socialist orientation.	40,000
O Pais	Lisbon	Friday	Private	Center-right. Occasional support of socialist line.	43,000
O Ponto	Lisbon	Friday	Private	Leftist. Strong communist influence.	31,000

Table A

PORTUGAL'S LEADING NEWSPAPERS (CONTINUED)

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation		Circulation
Edição Especial	Lisbon	Sunday	Private	Sunday edition of O Dia.	Rightist.	10,000

*These are the newspapers available on Portuguese newsstands in March 1983. Ownership is divided into three categories: 1) private (no state ownership of capital); public (100 percent state-ownership); and 3) state-intervened (capital owned by both state and private shareholders). Circulation figures were collected by the coauthors from figures published periodically by newspapers. Exceptions are Correio da Manha and O Dia, which have not published circulation figures (those presented here are general estimates). No company audits newspaper circulations in Portugal, as in some other countries.

**These are the same circulation figures provided by the paper for the past four years.

Table B

OTHER PORTUGAL NEWSPAPERS

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation	Circulation*
A Bola	Lisbon	Monday, Thursday, Saturday	Private	Sports. Country's widest-circulating newspaper. Commentary reveals clear leftist political orientation.	160,000
O Norte Desportivo	Oporto	Three issues per week	Private	Leading sports newspaper in the northern part of Portugal.	50,000
O Record	Lisbon	Monday, Wednesday, Friday	Private	Sports.	50,000
O Mundo Desportivo	Lisbon	Three issues per week	Public	Sports. Published by Diario de Noticias.	30,000
Gazeta dos Desportos	Oporto	Three issues per week	Private	Sports.	25,000
Povo Livre	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Social-Democratic Party (PSD).	N.A.
Portugal Socialista	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Socialist Party (SP).	N.A.
Avante	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Communist Party (PCP).	N.A.

*These are estimated circulation figures based on periodic reports in the newspapers. No company audits newspaper circulations in Portugal, as in some other countries.

8

Without subsidies from their respective political supporters, a number of the newspapers would cease publication. Withdrawal of all government support would be catastrophic for all but a few.

"The private newspapers receive a government grant for printing costs, according to circulation, but the state-owned papers also receive the same grant," Nuno Rocha, publisher of O Tempo and O Globo, has pointed out. "This is a scandalous situation and it is conceded that by these means the government intends to destroy the private newspapers and so take control of the whole written, radio and television media as well as all information whose distribution is made by the national news agency, ANOP."[11]

The government subsidy is about one escudo (in 1983 approximately the equivalent of one United States cent); this is the total amount of government assistance to the private newspapers. The state-owned papers, however, receive not only this amount, but additional nonreimbursable subsidies to cover the constant financial deficiencies of most of the papers.[12]

The newspapers in 1980 divided only about $5.7 million in advertising revenues among themselves, whereas television claimed about $19.8 million and radio about $8.5 million ($4.7 million for Catholic radio and $3.8 million for state-owned radio). The weak financial position of most of the newspapers is apparent.[13]

Rocha, former chairman of the Portuguese Committee of the International Press Institute, has urged that the state-owned newspapers be turned over to cooperatives, including membership by the employees themselves--"a solution envisaged by the 1976 Constitution"--and that government support of all newspapers be increased.[14]

Unshackled by heavy investment in printing presses and other production equipment, with an accompanying freedom from union restrictions and large payrolls, three Lisbon offset weeklies have developed since 1975 into highly influential and profitable newspapers. The left O Jornal, center Expresso and the center-right O Tempo compete head-on for readership by urban, educated citizens comprising a broad section of western Portugal extending from the Algarve in the deep south through Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto to Braga in the north. Their estimated circulations are in the 60,000-80,000 range.[15]

Expresso, published each Saturday, is the oldest, having been founded on January 6, 1973, by a group of 10 journalists headed by Francisco P. Balsemão. The group gained capitalization by selling 40 percent of its stock to a bank. The weekly has grown steadily through three periods, the first during pre-revolution censorship and the second and third marked by Balsemao's entry into government service.[16]

"Balsemão was the father figure," said reporter Jose Judice. "As editor, his political image was felt: he was both editor of the paper and a political leader. We had problems at first because of our social-democratic line and because we insisted that we were journalists first. But we have always maintained our independence."

Editorial decisions are made largely by consensus. "The heads of our departments are called organizers, not editors," Judice said. "On the foreign desk, there is no discussion. On the sports and economics desks, others enter into the discussion. All of us participate in a Monday morning meeting with the advertising staff. The chief news editor moderates this meeting. At 7 p.m. each Friday decisions are made concerning page one."

Free-lance writers contribute about 40 percent of the copy. There is one fulltime correspondent in New York City. Others free-lance in Paris, London, Bonn, Rome, Madrid and Moscow, and in Brazil and the Azores. They are paid per article, but are considered permanent and report only for Expresso. Press association reports are provided by ANOP, Reuters, Associated Press and Panaroma (Italy), augmented by services from the London Observer and Newsweek magazine in the United States.

Judice said Expresso models itself after the London Observer and The Sunday Times of London.

Promotion consists mainly of a half-hour radio program with guest panelists, broadcast at midnight each Wednesday and Saturday. "We get strong feedback in the form of letters and other comments," Judice said. "We also judge our success by increasing circulation and the fact that many other media use our stories." Yet, as the wine was poured in a lavish downtown Lisbon restaurant where Judice and two other Expresso reporters had lunch with the coauthors, Judice admitted that Expresso had been little concerned with expanding circulations--content with the certainty of being read by the mighty.

O Jornal, published each Friday, was established May 1, 1975, by a group of 15 journalists, now mostly 30-45 years of age. "We had worked together under the old system," said the associate editor, Manuel Bessa Murias. "We thoroughly enjoyed the absence of censorship in 1974, but by the middle of 1975 we saw political control present in the reporting of state matters in the media. Journalists were shifted about six times. Asking ourselves what to do, we decided to organize so as to work without being compelled to follow a particular party line."[17]

The founding group consisted of two graphics people who had returned from exile in London, one photographer and 12 generalists. "Not one escudo was available," Murias continued. "We tried to incorporate, but could not. The newsprint suppliers wanted cash in two weeks. Advertising prospects were low. We convinced a small publishing company--the Portuguese equivalent of American Home--to help. We finally signed a contract, receiving 40 percent of the business in return for capital but under an agreement that we would be entirely responsible for editorial content, fully in command. With only 40 percent of the shares in the corporation, we protected ourselves in many ways."

Capitalization consisted of only about 300,000 escudos (then the equivalent of approximately US$150,000). No salaries were paid during the first six months. "However, we were an immediate success--something fresh," Murias remarked. In November 1975, as the political process moved away from a Western-style democracy, circulation peaked at 135,000, but then dropped to 30,000, almost forcing the company out of existence in August 1976. O Jornal survived that crisis, and in early 1982 the journalists purchased all of the remaining shares.

O Jornal's policy, according to Murias, is to maintain the smallest possible operation, with the least possible fixed expense. Only about 120 persons, including 25 journalists, are on the payroll of the newspaper and its offshoot, the show business weekly Sete.

"We have kept together during all the political changes because we placed professionalism first and politics second," Murias said. "Everything is decided by consensus. The staff is publicly elected by the shareholders for one year, and they may be re-elected. The news editor is elected by all of the reporters and editors. The assistant news editors are appointed by the editor."

O Jornal plans to maintain its strong staff through what Murias terms "recycling" (one of the original 15 staff members is studying at the New University of Lisbon) and recruiting new staff members, mainly through an internship program. Under this plan, 10 young people, preferably those taking journalism courses at the universities, will be recruited for periods of six months each. They will work with senior staff members and professors and receive payment per published article.

Fulltime correspondents are maintained in Oporto and Paris, with part-time correspondents providing about one article each week from London, Brussels, New York, Bonn and Madrid. O Jornal publishes from four to six pages of international news and comment each week. "We look up to Le Monde [in Paris] because of its organization, with journalists in control, and we also admire the Danish newspapers," Murias said.

"Readership polls show that we are running about 50-50 with Expresso. The average age of our readers is 25-35. They include bank clerks, office clerks, insurance clerks, military people, executives and a large number of women. Few factory workers. Forty percent of the people who read anything read O Jornal."

O Tempo, published each Thursday, was founded in 1975 by editor-publisher Nuno Rocha. "When I began publishing," Rocha recalled, "this building was empty. The proprietors were afraid that workers would invade it. I said, 'Please, give me some room to publish my paper. If the paper goes well, you will get your money. If it does not, you will have lost nothing.' I made the same deal with typewriters, which had been ordered by not delivered."[18]

Rocha said the newapaper sold 150,000 copies in its third week of operation. "But every newspaper plant was raided by the communists," Rocha said. "Ours was the first to start up after they lost power. We have been bombed three times, we we kept going."

The company also publishes the monthly Tempo Documentos, the weekly Tempo Medicina and two other publications, Publituris [for tourism] and Equipa Hotel. The firm owns a photocomposition plant and a subsidiary company.

Rocha also owns shares in the Lisbon morning daily, Correia de Manha, and recently started an afternoon paper, O Globo, that reaches the newsstands before its rivals and is sold for less (15 escudos compared to rivals' 20 escudos).

Approximately 500 persons work on these publications, in comparison, Rocha is proud to note, with about 1,050 employed by the leading Lisbon daily, Diário de Notícias. Fifty-five persons are employed by O Tempo, and there are about 20 foreign correspondents. "Our secret," Rocha observed, "is making a good profit each year. We have very good salaries and good working conditions, and we have never had probleme with our workers."

Rocha has upgraded the paper's technology with the addition of video display terminals for use in the advertising and business departments, as well as a Datasaab terminal to handle invoices.

The fiery publisher vigorously pursues his campaign to have the remaining state-owned newspapers returned to private control.

"The government wants to continue to control television, radio, ANOP and the newspapers it acquired when the banks were nationalized," Rocha said. "I sent a letter to the deputies in Parliament protesting this ownership. I said we can have no democracy without a totally free press. Some replied that the press is not free if it is in the hands of capitalists. Others said unemployment would result if these papers were released to private ownership. I still insisted that it is a danger to democracy to have newspapers owned by the state."

Not only are these weeklies influential in Portugal but they are also sold on newsstands in some cities of France, where an estimated one million Portuguese reside.[19] As previously pointed out, they fill a vacuum created by the absence of news magazines in Portugal. One recent attempt to establish a news magazine, Opção, did not reach its third anniversary. The lack of news magazines is symptomatic of a general weakness of magazines in Portugal. Beyond two traditionally-oriented women's magazines, Cronica Feminina (estimated circulation, 220,000) and Maria (150,000), and the weekly television guide TV Guia (140,000), a few fluctuate between 30,000 and 50,000 in circulation, but most do not reach even 15,000.

The 1974 wind of freedom did not just bring Playboy and more risqué publications (an early attempt to make money with a Portuguese centerfold imitation of Playboy attracted little interest and failed); it also swept away old titles, and few magazines in Portugal today have been in existence for more than five years. Two newcomers to the women's press are Ela and the feminist monthly Mulheres. Both TV Guia and the smaller-circulating TvTop have appeared in the last few years. Even the more luxuriant and necessarily more expensive picture magazines high on social gossip, Nova Gente and Mais, are novices. The weekly Mais was started in 1982 and it, like most other magazines, has yet to prove it will be a newsstand fixture.

Newcomers of note are the weekly Jornal da B.D.,[20] dedicated to comics, and the monthly Espaço Reporter (10,000 circulation). A tourist industry-oriented monthly magazine, Espaço T, continues to publish, but recently dropped its English and French versions.[21]

In contrast with the small-staffed weekly newspapers housed in old quarters, Lisbon's oldest daily, Diário de Notícias, a letterpress publication, occupies a large, modern building on the city's principal downtown boulevard. Although state-owned, its editorial orientation, under respected

Dr. Mario Mesquita, is considered independent and moderate. "I have complete editorial freedom; I am my only censor," Mesquita said.[22]

Diário de Notícias, founded in 1864, is heavily unionized. Despite some union objections, it is beginning to acquire video display terminals, used first in the advertising department. "We have had some union problems regarding the use and control of this equipment," Mesquita said. "A board of administrators handles these problems."

The paper is a newspaper of record, regularly reporting such bulletin board items as airlines and shipping schedules, the location and telephone numbers of emergency operations and other public announcements. The pages are standard sized. Its news stories are more objective in nature than those in most other Portuguese dailies. Its conservative appearance also contrasts sharply with that of most other Lisbon dailies, many of which crowd their pages with a jumble of stories and headlines and make heavy use of color.

Mesquita has taught part-time in the new journalism program at Portuguese Catholic University. He expressed the hope that many practicing journalists, most without university backgrounds, would participate in mid-career programs at Catholic University and the New University of Lisbon..

When its long-time rival O Seculo ceased publication in 1976, the morning Diário de Notícias was challenged only by the highly political O Diário and O Dia until Correio da Manha appeared on March 19, 1979. Started with a nucleus of journalists recently unemployed due to the closure of the morning daily, A Luta (last issue dated January 7, 1979), Correio da Manha brought a breath of fresh air to newspapers simply by deserting so-called combat journalism (characterized by the strident promotion of causes) and giving readers a heavy dose of something other than politics. It plays up

crime and human interest stories, often relegating the Prime Minister's speeches to inside pages. It is a highly diversified newspaper with sections on such hobbies as stamp collecting and shortwave radio, as well as crossword puzzles. The newspaper's motto, "a different way of informing," exemplifies its desire to break with the general homogeneity of the press.[23] But content is just one of Correio da Manha's innovations. The newspaper has an active public relations policy complete with stickers for taxicabs and the sponsorship of many contests, including the 1982 edition of the Miss Portugal pageant. There is one other important innovation: the newspaper turns a profit.

Started about 40 years ago to challenge the then-dominant Diario de Lisboa, Diário Popular is Lisbon's leading afternoon daily, but circulation has dropped substantially from its January 1974 high of 130,000. It is the first newspaper to make public its circulation, printing its average circulation during the preceding month and the circulation of that day exactly one year previously. Some dailies do not dare to mention circulation figures, past or present; the practice is illegal but it continues.

Heavily identified with left currents during the revolutionary bath, Diário Popular has softened its aggressive course but still remains politically left and independent from any political party. It has a comparatively large staff of 52 newspeople (compared to A Capital's 30) that is organized much like most other Portuguese dailies:[24]

Director

Assistant Director

Chief Editor

Assistant Editor

Staff Secretary (organizes agenda)

Departments (two to five newspeople each):

International

National Politics

Economy

Social (Labor, Information, Education)

City

Regional

Sports

Photographers (five)

Support Staff (includes archives)

Diário Popular is one of three public enterprises; that is, its capital is owned entirely by the government and its operations are governed by a specific law and by statutes (passed in 1979). The newspaper's administrative body is the Conselho de Gerencia (governing council), headed by a president appointed by the government. It is this council that nominates the newspaper's director and assistant director after hearing the opinion of the Conselho de Redaccao (newspeople's staff council). But the 1975 press law specifically declares that the nomination of a newspaper director needs the approval of the paper's journalist council, whereas, according to the conflicting

statutes, the approval of the newspeople's staff council is not necessary--an unusual limitation of this latter council's power in the public newspapers. This is important because the current director of Diario Popular was appointed in 1980 over the opposition of the newspaper's news staff in what journalists deemed an illegal appointment according to the press law. The government argued that the nomination was not illegal precisely because the statutes governing public newspapers do not convey a veto power to the newspeople's staff council.

Unlike most of the press, the prestigious Diario de Lisboa has largely maintained its identity over the years. Despite the repression under the Salazarist regime, it tried its best to express opposition opinions, even if they were ladled in between the lines. It also has maintained its director, Dr. Antonio Ruella Ramos, who has outlasted all the political turbulence of past years and is proud to be the dean of newspaper directors.

Diário de Lisboa is one of Portugal's intervened newspapers; that is, with the nationalization of the banks in 1975, part of its capital became state-owned but the majority remained privately owned. "I have complete freedom of expression," Ramos said, "but as director I must read all the copy and tone down some comment. I am the only censor of the paper." Generally identified as sympathetic to the Communist Party line, Ramos said the newspaper had faced a number of libel suits, but that none has been won in the courts.[25]

Ramos strongly opposes state ownership of newspapers. He contended that, although the 1975 press law seeks to safeguard the independence of the national press, it has often been disregarded. He cited one case in which a Lisbon newspaper editor (unnamed)[26] was appointed over the veto of its editorial staff.

"In addition," Ramos said, "inasmuch as the editor of the paper is appointed and freely dismissed by the management board of the company and, since

this board is appointed by the government, it is easy to infer how difficult it is to maintain the independence of the paper in the face of that very same government.

"Also, the frequent changes of the editing members responsible for these papers, coincidentally with the changes in the government . . ., are another proof of the frailty of this situation. Although the nationalized press shows a normal, or even good, journalistic quality, the truth remains that only very seldom a critical attitude is placed as opposed to the ruling government."

Although Ramos said he would approve the establishment of mid-career educational programs at the universities, he is no advocate of undergraduate journalism education. "There is little need for more young people in the profession," he said. "It is not expanding. There is no place for them to go."

In Oporto, two center-right dailies, O Premeiro de Janeiro and O Comercio do Porto, and one socialist-oriented daily, Jornal de Notícias, compete for readership among the largely conservative population in the northern part of Portugal.

O Premeiro de Janeiro got its name from a revolution by Oporto merchants, protesting taxation, beginning on January 1, 1869. It began publication the following December as Janeiro's Revolução, but soon changed its name.

The newspaper is constructing a new building, converting its production process entirely to photocomposition and aiming for a bright future for Portugal and itself.

"In Portugal there is too much of a 'fado,' 'destiny,' 'looking-back-with-anger' type of thinking,: the editor, Dr. Feytor Pinto, exclaimed. "The past is the past. Even the older journalists are coming around to this type of thinking. We go from one six-month stage to another in our planning and execution. We seek stabilization, even to create a new image--a new rightist image."[27]

The government's spokesperson handling relations with the foreign press under the old regime, Dr. Pinto fled to Spain in 1974, remaining in exile there for six years. Returning, he accepted appointment as editor-director of O Premeiro de Janeiro ("Now, for the first time, I am on the other side") and immediately faced credibility and recruiting problems. Other newspapers raided the paper for talent. After almost 250 persons applied for the openings, Pinto hired eight new journalists, including one with a Ph.D. degree and another with a degree emphasizing mass communication.

"We have been steadily rebuilding our staff with younger people who are fed up with sensationalism," Pinto said. "We need quality; we want objective information. We ask only for capacity and loyalty, and are not upset with our staff members' political leanings because our paper reflects widely differing viewpoints.

"We consider our readers to be adults and we give them an opportunity to make a choice in what we present--alternative solutions. This is a part of Portuguese democracy."

Reflecting on his country's problems and hopes, Pinto said:

"With decolonization came the end of a long era that made us different from the other part of the Iberian peninsula. Now we are back to our own frontiers, but we don't have aims as a nation. We are a Third World country--a bridge--in Europe. We must decide what we want to be as a country; the ruling elite failed.

"The Portuguese people know what they want: democracy--the duty and the right of voting. After we have gone to the polls, we ask our rulers to rule according to the programs we have voted for. . . .

"Comparing us with other countries is wrong. Our economic situation, our point of view, even our cities are smaller than many others. We have

major economic problems as a consequence. . . . We must discover new potentialities. Our government must assume its duties with responsibility. We must create a truly democratic system."

Spain's El Pais and France's Le Monde are models for the newspaper; both are considered national, and international, in their influence.

"We would like to be a truly national newspaper," Pinto said. "Our truck leaves at 3 a.m., but the traffic problems are tremendous. Last Monday the truck did not arrive in Lisbon until 11 a.m. Normally it is a four-hour drive." (A major bottleneck at Coimbra is the primary cause of traffic delays.)

Founded in 1854, O Comercio do Porto is the oldest newspaper in Portugal. It is one of the intervened newspapers, with the state owning 45 percent of the capital, 40 percent belonging to private sources and 15 percent the property of the newspaper itself. Despite the confusion as to ownership, Editor Joaquim Queiroz affirmed his independence. "We have complete freedom of operation, with no undue influence from any quarter," he declared. Asked if the newspaper would criticize the Prime Minister, Queiroz replied, "We have done it; if we want to be free, we must do so." Five libel suits were filed against the paper in 1975, but none since.[28]

The editor said O Comercio do Porto was the first Portuguese newspaper to begin using photocomposition, with thin plates placed on the presses. Already, a second-generation onoline computer system has been installed for video display terminals, used in producing advertising copy.

With stained-glass windows and much art work in evidence, including statuary, the newspaper's headquarters must rank among the most beautiful anywhere. Even the employee coffee house, built in what was once a small theater, has an old-world aristocratic ambience.

Another state-intervened daily is Jornal de Notícias. Since July 1978, the newspaper has enjoyed the reputation of being Portugal's largest-selling

daily ("500,000 people read our paper"). It occupies all seven stories of one of the few modern newspaper buildings in Portugal. There are about 500 employees, most of them unionized. A representative of Editor Alberto de Carvalho said that about 45 video display terminals are in use, primarily in advertising. "We have had only minor problems with the unions in the introduction of this equipment," he said.[29]

In a determined effort to become the national newspaper, copies are transported daily by truck to Lisbon and other cities. "We are going to conquer Portugal when we overcome our technological problems," the official said. "Portugal needs a strong morning newspaper."

The official said "there is absolutely no censorship" of the newspaper. "Our paper has two faces--one political, the other news," he remarked. "We need to improve our political aspect."

The newspaper describes its purpose and operations in a tri-language (Portuguese, French and English) promotion booklet, which states in part:

> "Our journalistic style is, let us say--British. We can only conceive a newspaper as a product appreciated without diagust, repulsion or hatred--rather, somehow, dispassionately. Thus, JN will go further, keeping the same position, striving to maintain what, in simple words, we call a serious, authentic and neat journalism."[30]

The Oporto dailies are standard-sized publications.

Except for its location near Coimbra University, Diário de Coimbra, a poorly printed, tabloid-sized newspaper of approximately 10,000 circulation, is typical of the famished regional press. The editor, Dr. Lino Vinhal, explained several problems faced by his and other newspapers:

"The newspaper situation is bad. Fifty percent of the circulation is in the main cities. Only about 40 percent of the people can read--there is no tradition of reading in the country. In Coimbra, the circulation of all papers is only 8,000. Considering that Coimbra has a population of 100,000, this represents a readership of only 8 percent in the city."[31]

Dr. Vinhal said television cannot be blamed because "reading was no better before it came along two decades ago." He continued:

"Portugal does not yet have good journalism because we are not close enough to the public, to the country's basic power. Our newspapers are too political--to the right, to the left. It is difficult to find a paper that is not left or right. But a few are independent and seeking the truth."

Dr. Vinhal's remarks highlight an imperative for Portugal's young democracy and the newspaper industry: cultivate basic education, especially the art and the habit of reading. At a recent Journalists' Congress in Lisbon, one journalist condemned the homogeneity of the press' content and its elitist language:

> "It is time for the profession to direct itself less to those circles in which journalists move about and become more preoccupied with that segment of the population that cannot decipher the news it receives. We are still producing a press that is rejected by a large part of the people who could read it."[32]

Certainly the success of the show business weekly Sete (80,000 circulation) and particularly the tri-weekly sports newspaper Bola (160,000 circulation) indicates that Portuguese newspapers might well increase their circulation if they offered a more attractive product and simpler language. Certainly the historic lack of professional journalistic education accounts for widespread insensitivity to a common law in journalism: write so even the milkman can read and understand it.

A recent poll disclosed that only 18 percent of the Portuguese read a newspaper daily.[33] Statistics clearly show that newspaper circulations have declined since the heights reached during the revolutionary period (1974-1975) and that the total circulation of all publications dropped 20 percent from 1971 to 1980.[34] The number of publications has declined 11 percent, particularly among the regional press. With low circulations and significant economic dependence on government, the press has been all the more vulnerable to pressures from outside forces. The one-way hierarchical relationship between government and the press since the revolution merely repeats what has been an historical constant of political intrusion in the day-to-day activity of professionals. Two Portuguese journalists have their own characterization of conditions today:

> "Thus, [journalists are] without their own space, with a work market apparently saturated, where nepotism, 'compadrios' [exchange of favors] and a tight web of connections shame a profession and put its dignity in cause, where ideological content is favored over professional quality."[35]

Historically underpaid (the average monthly salary for a reporter is the Portuguese equivalent of US$300), journalists may find it difficult to resist outside pressures at the risk of being marginalized in their careers.

Portuguese press history unfortunately reads like a tragic soap opera set in Nineteenth Century France: short, sporadic bursts of press freedom sandwiched between longer, darker periods of repression and censorship. While Portugal today undeniably enjoys a fervent period of liberty, the somber light of four-plus decades of Salazar-Caetano dictatorship stunted the growth of the press, and the media in general, as a Fourth Estate immune to outside pressures.

At the first-ever Journalists' Congress in January 1983, one Portuguese journalist characterized the press in these comparative and easily comprehensible terms: "If in the United States the press is a power, and in France a force, in Portugal the press is primarily a transmission belt of partisan, political power."[37]

Certainly, Portuguese press legislation is not only categorical in its affirmation of basic liberties, but it also equips journalists with all the necessary rights to perform their function of informing public opinion. However, the weight of a past that strangled the press cannot be blotted out or neutralized overnight, for old habits die slowly. The past stifled the growth of Portugal's Fourth Estate in one of its most vital aspects, namely the development of its own tradition and perhaps the more than mythical faith that indeed the press is the guardian of the public interest.

The recurrent demands of Portuguese journalists <u>today</u> for respect is perhaps symptomatic of this historic perversion. The Portuguese press is now free to wage its fight and affirm its role as the backbone of democratic rule.

Notes

1 Coauthor Nelson Traquina, a United States citizen of Portuguese heritage, was present in Lisbon, undertaking a sociological study under a Fulbright grant, when the revolution broke out. The nature of his study was such that he could not complete it during those turbulent months, so he joined the staff of the United Press International bureau in the city. After two years' service, he moved to France, where he earned a Ph.D. degree at the University of Paris (Rene Descartes-Sorbonne). In January 1982 he assumed duties as an assistant professor in the Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon. Coauthor Warren K. Agee conducted research into conditions affecting the Portuguese mass media during a three-month Fulbright assignment in 1982. A prior search of newspaper, social science and other data bases, as well as print literature, revealed very little about the experiences of the press in post-revolutionary Portugal.

2 See Table A. The government exercises 100 percent control over three newspapers, shown in the table as "public," under statutory authority. The government owns controlling stock in two other newspapers, designated as "state-intervened" in the table. As indicated, its control of a sixth newspaper has been the subject of a three-year controversy. Table A does not refer to 10 small dailies published on the Azores and Madeira islands that are listed in the 1976 Press Council report. A Imprensa Escrita em Portugal (Lisbon: Emprensa Publica dos Jornais Notícias e Capital, 1979), p. 104.

3 IPI Report (International Press Institute), 29:3 (March 1981), pp. 1, 13.

4 Personal communication with editors or their representatives, and observation by the coauthors, during visits to a number of Portuguese newspapers.

5 Antonio Ruella Ramos, "The Private and Nationalized Press in Portugal," unpublished address prepared for delivery to the 34th Congress of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), Madrid, Spain, May 22, 1981, p. 2.

6 The national Press Council (Conselho de Imprensa) is governed by terms of Article 17 of the 1975 Press Law, revised by Decree No. 816-A/76, of Nov. 10, 1976, and again by Decree No. 31/78, of July 20, 1978. The journalists' Editorial Council (Conselho de Redaccao) was established by Article 38-3 of the 1976 Constitution, revised by a two-thirds majority vote of Parliament in 1982.

7 Provided in Article 38-3 of the 1976 Constitution, revised in 1982, and Articles 4-8 and 10 of Decree No. 85-C/75, of Feb. 26, 1975, of the 1975 Press Law, altered by Decree No. 181/76, of March 9, 1976.

8 Articles 16 and 24-29 of the 1975 Press Law.

9 The code of ethics was approved by the Journalists Union in 1976. Article 11 of the journalists' statutes refers to the ethical obligations of journalists.

10 Article 13 of the journalists' statutes.

11 IPI Report, op. cit., p. 13. ANOP is Agencia Noticiosa Portuguesa.

12 Ramos, op. cit., p. 4.

13 IPI Report, op. cit.

14 Ibid.

15 See Table A.

16 Judice (personal communication), Lisbon, Feb. 3, 1982. Balsemao served as Prime Minister from 1981 to 1983. Judice also is editor of Espaço T Magazine, a tourist-oriented monthly. It is common practice for Portuguese journalists to hold more than one position simultaneously.

17 Murias (personal communication), Lisbon, Feb. 2, 1982.

18 Rocha (personal communication), Lisbon, March 22, 1982.

19 Murias, op. cit.

20 B.D. stands for "banda desenhada," the Portuguese term for comics and cartoons. Of course, Portuguese translations of most Walt Disney, Superman and even Marvel comics are available--usually Brazilian versions.

21 Nelson Morais (staff member of Espaco T) to Warren K. Agee, Feb. 21, 1983.

22 Mesquita (personal communication), Lisbon, Jan. 8, 1982.

23 Antonio Maria Amorim Falcao, "Correio da Manha--um Jornal Moderno." Unpublished paper prepared for Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon, 1983.

24 Olga Ribeiro, "Diario Popular." Unpublished paper prepared for Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon, 1983.

25 Ramos (personal communication), Lisbon, Jan. 7, 1982.

26 The reference was to Diário Popular.

27 Pinto (personal communication), Jan. 14, 1982.

28 Queiroz (personal communication), Jan. 13, 1982.

29 Representative of Carvalho (personal communication), Oporto, Jan. 12, 1982.

30 JN, Jornal de Notícias (undated), p. 6.

31 Vinhal (personal communication), Coimbra, Jan. 20, 1982.

32 Silva Costa, "Crescimento quantitativo da informacão--condicao de democracia e desenvolvimento." Unpublished paper presented at the first Journalists' Congress, Lisbon, Jan. 19-22, 1983, p. 5.

33 Diario de Noticias, Feb. 24, 1983, p. 3.

34 Instituto Nacional de Estatisticas, Estatisticas da Educacão 1971 (Lisbon: Sociedade Tipografica, 1972) and data for 1980 still unpublished.

35 Elisabete Franca e Guiomar Belo Marques, "O Acesso a Profissão de Jornalistas." Unpublished paper presented at the Journalists' Congress, p. 4.

36 Antonio dos Santos, "As Condições de Trabalho dos Jornalistas--Contribuicao para a Analise de uma Situação Degradánte." Unpublished paper presented at the Journalists' Congress, p. 4.

37 Miguel Sousa Tavares and Jose Manuel Barata Feyo, "Mea Culpa." Unpublished paper presented at the Journalists' Congress, p. 1.